

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07
IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 /076 W
-----039066 181730Z /50

O P 181654Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3251
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
USDEL MBFR VIENNA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY
CINC EUR VAIHINGEN PRIORITY
CINC USAREUR HEIDELBERG PRIORITY
JCS WASHDC PRIORITY
CINC USAF RAMSTEIN PRIORITY

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, MNUC, PARM, GW, US
SUBJECT: SPD CONVENTION PASSES A RESOLUTION ON THE
NEUTRON WEAPON
BEGIN SUMMARY. ON NOVEMBER 16 THE BIENNIAL SPD CONVEN-
TION PASSED A RESOLUTION WHICH EXPRESSES STRONG CONCERN
ABOUT THE NEUTRON WEAPON BUT DOES NOT REJECT IT ENTIRELY.
THE SPD MAJORITY PRIMARILY REGARDED THE NEUTRON WEAPON
AS A USEFUL BARGAINING CHIP FOR FURTHER ARMS CONTROL
NEGOTIATIONS. THE ADOPTED RESOLUTION IMPLICITLY OPPOSES
STORAGE OF THIS WEAPON ON FRG SOIL, BUT THE CONVENTION
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REJECTED AN AMENDMENT WHICH CALLED ON BONN TO
"GUARANTEE" THIS POINT. END SUMMARY.

1. THE SPD HELD ITS BIENNIAL REGULAR PARTY CONGRESS IN
HAMBURG THIS WEEK. ON NOVEMBER 16, THE CONVENTION TOOK
UP ITS FIRST SUBSTANTIVE RESOLUTION: FOREIGN AND SECUR-
ITY POLICY. DEBATE CENTERED ON LANGUAGE INVOLVING THE

NEUTRON WEAPON.

A. THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE HAD DRAFTED A PAPER WHICH:

--EXPRESSED STRONG CONCERN OVER NUCLEAR WEAPONS SYSTEMS NOT COVERED BY SALT OR MBFR;

--CALLED FOR THE EXPANSION OF ONGOING ARMS CONTROL TALKS TO COVER THESE SYSTEMS;

--EMPHASIZED THAT "THERE ARE ESPECIALLY MORAL, BUT ALSO MILITARY, STRATEGIC, ALLIANCE, AND DISARMAMENT ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE DEVELOPMENT, INTRODUCTION AND STATIONING OF THE NEUTRON WEAPON";

--URGED THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO SEEK TO PREVENT, "IN THE FRAMEWORK OF ITS ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS", TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENTS FROM LOWERING THE ATOMIC THRESHOLD;

--CALLED ON THE FRG "IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT POLICY, TO CREATE THE POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC PREREQUISITES SO THAT A STORAGE OF THE NEUTRON WEAPON ON THE TERRITORY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WILL NOT BECOME NECESSARY"; AND

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--DECLARED THAT THE DECISION ON USE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS MUST REMAIN IN THE HANDS OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIPS.

B. AN AMENDMENT TO THIS RESOLUTION CALLED ON THE FRG TO GUARANTEE "IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT POLICY AND THROUGH POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC DECISIONS THAT THE NEUTRON WEAPON WILL NOT BE STORED ON THE TERRITORY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC."

2. DEBATE ON THE COMMITTEE AND FLOOR RESOLUTIONS LASTED SEVERAL HOURS. NO DELEGATE SPOKE IN FAVOR OF THE NEUTRON WEAPON PER SE. THOSE WHO SUPPORTED THE COMMITTEE RESOLUTION EMPHASIZED PRIMARILY THE NEED TO HOLD OPEN THE OPTION OF THE NEUTRON WEAPON SO THAT IT COULD BE USED AS A BARGAINING CHIP IN ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT (WHO DID NOT TAKE PART IN THE DEBATE), THE SPD LEADERSHIP--SPD CHAIRMAN WILLY BRANDT, SPD BUSINESS MANAGER EGON BAHR, SPD DEPUTY CHAIRMAN HANS KOSCHNICK, MINISTER OF STATE HANS

JUERGEN WISCHNEWSKI, AND DEFENSE MINISTER GEORG LEBER--

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DEFENDED THIS POSITION. ADVOCATES OF THE SECOND RESOLU-
TION MARSHALLED A RANGE OF ETHICAL, STRATEGIC, AND
POLITICAL ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE
VERSION.

3. MINISTER LEBER GAVE THE MOST SUCCINCT AND COMPREHEN-
SIVE STATEMENT OF THE MAJORITY VIEW. A PARTIAL, INFORMAL
TRANSLATION OF HIS REMARKS IS AS FOLLOWS:

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QTE...WHEN WE PONDER OUR SECURITY AND ARMS REDUCTIONS, WE MUST REALIZE THAT IT IS WRONG FOR ONE SIDE OR ONE COUNTRY TO DISARM UNILATERALLY. SUCH A STEP BRINGS NOTHING FOR SECURITY, BUT ONLY THE RISK OF INSECURITY.... HE WHO DISARMS UNILATERALLY DOES NOT ACHIEVE WORLD DISARMAMENT; HE ONLY PLACES HIMSELF IN A POSITION OF INFERIORITY..... WARS WILL BE POSSIBLE AGAIN IN THE FUTURE IF ONE SIDE CAN WIN THEM. WARS CAN BE WON BY THE SIDE WHICH IS SUPERIOR; THEY CAN BE LOST BY THE SIDE WHICH IS INFERIOR. THEREFORE THE PRESERVATION OF BALANCE IS AN ELEMENT FOR THE PREVENTION OF WAR....

I AM NOT ARGUING FOR THE PRODUCTION OF THE NEUTRON WEAPON. THAT IS NOT OUR DECISION BUT...A SOVEREIGN AMERICAN DECISION IN WHICH WE ARE NOT INVOLVED.

NOR AM I ARGUING FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF THIS WEAPON IN EUROPE. I AM ONLY ARGUING THAT WE NOT NOW SAY NO TO THIS QUESTION...BECAUSE I WANT A SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT.... TO ACHIEVE DISARMAMENT STEPS IN VIENNA AND DISARMAMENT STEPS AT OTHER TABLES...HE WHO GIVES UP SOMETHING, GETS NOTHING IN RETURN. THE AMERICANS RECENTLY DID SOMETHING IN THIS REGARD. THEY SACRIFICED THE CONSTRUCTION OF A BOMBER AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO A BOMBER TO BE BUILT IN RUSSIA. FOR THIS, THEY CAN EXPECT NO CONCESSIONS AT ALL FROM THE EASTERN SIDE. HE WHO WANTS TO REACH SOMETHING AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE MUST KNOW THAT THE NEGOTIATION INVOLVES HARD REALITIES....UNQTE

4. BY A SIGNIFICANT MARGIN, THE CONVENTION FIRST REJECTED THE AMENDMENT FROM THE FLOOR. IT THEN PASSED, WITH ONE NEGATIVE VOTE AND SEVERAL ABSTENTIONS, THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE VERSION.

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5. COMMENT. IN PASSING THIS RESOLUTION, THE SPD HAS NOT SLAMMED THE DOOR SHUT ON THE NEUTRON WEAPON BUT HAS SHOWN AN OVERWHELMING PREFERENCE THAT THE WEAPON BE USED AS A BARGAINING CHIP AND NOT BE INTRODUCED--AT LEAST NOT STORED--IN THE FRG. PARTY RESOLUTIONS DO NOT BIND THE SCHMIDT GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, THIS ONE REPRESENTS A MAJOR EFFORT TO UNITE THE SPD BEHIND A POSITION WHICH THE CHANCELLORMUST CONSIDER THE PRICE FOR OBTAINING A MAJORITY FOR THIS RESOLUTION WAS A MORE NEGATIVE STATEMENT ON THE NEUTRON WEAPON THAN

IN THE ORIGINAL DRAFT WHICH THE PARTY LEADERSHIP HAD
SUBMITTED SEVERAL WEEKS AGO. WE SHALL DISCUSS THE
SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS RESOLUTION WITH OUR FRG CONTACTS,
PARTICULARLY IN THE FMOD NEXT WEEK, AND SHALL REPORT
FURTHER. END COMMENT.
STOESSEL

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